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Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 DODE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 SAM-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 /069 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/IB:AWLUKENS:MS
APPROVED BY EUR - BRUCE LAINGEN
EUR - MR. GOOTT
CU/EUR - MR. HOLLY
DOD/ISA - MR. BERGOLD
---------- 130688
R 262341Z MAR 75
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LISBON
INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION NATO
ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 068999

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, SCUL, PO

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CAPTAIN JOA ROSA, AFM MEMBER WHO IS LIAISON OFFICER WITH RADIO FREE EUROPE

1. CAPT. ROSA, MEMBER OF AFM WHO IS ALSO ADVISOR TO MINISTER OF LABOR, VISITED WASHINGTON MARCH 20 ON PARTIAL LEADER GRANT FOLLOWING VISIT TO NEW YORK AS GUEST OF RADIO FREE EUROPE. IN WASHINGTON, ROSA CALLED ON EUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LAINGEN AND ASSISTANT SECRETARYRICHARDSON, CU, AND OTHER OFFICERS AND WAS GIVEN LUNCH BY PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR THEMIDO.

2. IN CALL ON LAINGEN, ROSA EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS BASICALLY MILITARY MAN AND WAS STILL ACTIVE MEMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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AFM ASSEMBLY BUT HAD BEEN ASSIGNED TO ADVISE MINISTER

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OF LABOR AND TO HANDLE LIAISON WITH RADIO FREE EUROPE. LAINGEN WELCOMED HIM AND NOTED THAT U.S. HAD SUPPORTED PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTION. RECENTLY, HOWEVER, USG CONCERNED THAT EVENTS OF 11 MARCH AND THEIR AFTERMATH COULD UNDERMINE PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF THESE PRINCIPLES. ROSA REPLIED THAT AFM WOULD NEED TO CONTINUE WORKING AT LEAST THREE MORE YEARS INASMUCH AS POPULATION NEEDED A LOT OF INSTRUCTION AND COULD EASILY BE LURED AWAY FROM AFM DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. AFM,

THEREFORE, HAD BEEN GUARANTOR OF DEMOCRACY TO PREVENT COUNTRY FROM SLIDING BACK INTO FASCIST ERA.

3. LAINGEN ACKNOWLEDGED ROSA'S ARGUMENT BUT POINTED OUT THAT INASMUCH AS USG HAD FIRMLY SUPPORTED PRINCIPLES OF PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION, WE WERE PARTICULARLY TROUBLED LEST THE SITUATION EVOLVE TO THE POINT WHERE THE PEOPLE WOULD NO LONGER HAVE FREE CHOICE. IN THAT REGARD, LAINGEN CITED AFM ACTION EXCLUDING PDC FROM ELECTIONS.

4. ROSA REPLIED THAT PDC WAS NOT DEMOCRATIC PARTY SINCE SECGEN OSORIO HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN PLOT WITH SPINOLA AND HAD SINCE FLED COUNTRY. IF PDC WERE ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN VOTE, IT COULD CONTRIBUTE TO POSSIBLE CIVIL WAR SITUATION. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHICH HAS NOW BEEN EXCLUDED WAS "CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT" IN NAME ONLY; IT WAS REALLY A RIGHT-WING PARTY. THE "TRUE" CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ARE THEPOPULAR DEMOCRATS, WHO TOGETHER WITH THE SOCIALISTSWILL BECOME THE DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCES. THERE WAS A GAP IN THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NON-MARXIST SOCIALISTS TO THEIR RIGHT. HE PREDICTED THERE WOULD BE A MOVEMENT BY THE SOCIALISTS TO THE LEFT TO FILL THIS GAP IN AN EFFORT TO ATTRACT THE SUPPORT OF LEFT-WING MARXISTS WHO DID NOT WISH TO IDENTIFY WITH THECOMMUNIST PARTY. THIS MIGHT ALSO RESULT IN A LEFTWARD SHIFT OF THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS.

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5. LAINGEN OBSERVED THAT THE USG WAS CONCERNED BY EVENTS AS A FRIEND AND ALLY BUT HAD NO INTENTION OF DICTATING WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT PORTUGAL SHOULD HAVE. NEVERTHELESS, THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE LAST FEW DAYS SEEMED TO REFLECT A SENSE OF INSTABILITY. BOTH THE CDS AND PPD HEADQUARTERS HAD BEEN RANSACKED. SO WE WERE LED TO WONDER WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND WHERE GOP WAS GOING. OUR INTEREST IN PORTUGAL WAS IN ITS KEEPING

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TRUE TO ITS LONG STANDING TRADITION OF CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. ROSA REPLIED THAT HE APPRECIATED LAINGEN'S FRANKNESS, AND THOUGHT USG CONCERNS WERE SIMILAR TO AFM CONCERNS AND THAT BOTH WISHED PORTUGAL TO REMAIN ON THE DEMOCRATIC COURSE. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT AFM FELT NEW SENSE OF MISSION AND COHESION, SINCE 11 MARCH EVENTS AND WAS DETERMINED TO CARRY OUT ITS PROGRAM WITHOUT INTERFERENCE.

6. AFTER -AINGEN LEFT, EUR LABOR ADVISER GOOTT ASKED

ROSA FOR HIS VIEWS ON HOW FREEDOM OF CHOICE WAS LIKELY TO BE REFLECTED IN THE TRADE UNION FIELD AND WHAT OPPORTUNITY HE FORESAW FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNIONS OFFREE EUROPE, INCLUDING THEIR INTERNATIONAL ORG-ANIZATIONS, TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH PORTUGUESE LABOR. ROSA REPLIED BY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT INTERSINDICAL AND MANY INDIVIDUAL UNIONS WERE CURRENTLY COMMUNIST-DOMINATED. HE, THEREFORE, DID NOT FORESEE MUCH OPPORTUNITY FOR CONTACT WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST UNIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD. THERE WOULD BE UNION ELECTIONS, HOWEVER, IN ABOUT A YEAR AT WHICH TIME, HE PREDICTED, THE SOCIALISTS AND THE POPULAR DEMOCRATS WOULD EMERGE AS THE DOMINANT POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. FOLLOWING THESE ELECTIONS, THE DOORS WOULD BE OPEN TO CONTACTS WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST TRADE UNIONS OF THE FREE WORLD. IN THE MEANTIME, HE SAID, THE COMMUNISTS WERE SEEKING TO PORTRAY AN IMAGE OF MODERATION AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND ARE EVEN SEEKING TO PREVENT STRIKES IN MANY INSTANCES.

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7. FOLLOWING HIS REMARKS ON TRADE UNIONISM, ROSA WENT ON TO JUSTIFY NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS BY ARGUING THAT THE PORTUGUESE BANKS SERVICED ONLY THE RICH AND THE ELITE. WITH NATIONALIZATION, HE ASSERTED, THE BANKS WOULD BE AT THE SERVICE OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

8. FINALLY, ROSA SAID HE FELT WE SHOULD KNOW THAT CERTAIN MEMBERS OF AFM BELIEVED THAT AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI WAS "CIA AGENT" AND PERHAPS EVEN A "MAFIA REPRESENTATIVE" AND THAT USG SHOULD SEND INSTEAD MILITARY MAN WHO COULD APPEAL TO YOUNG MILITARY LEADERS OF AFM. IBERIAN DIRECTOR LUKENS REPLIED THAT OFFICERS LIKE ROSA SHOULD KNOW BETTER THAN TO BELIEVE SUCH RIDICULOUS ALLEGATIONS. USG HAD COMPLETE CONFIDENCE IN AMB. CARLUCCI AND THERE WAS NO QUESTION WHATSOEVER ABOUT SENDING NEW AMBASSADOR.

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ROSA WAS ADVISED TO RETURN TO PORTUGAL AND TELL HIS FRIENDS THAT CHARGES LIKE THESE COULD NOT POSSIBLY HELP PORTUGAL AND WOULD ONLY SERVE TO REDUCE CREDIBILITY OF AFM ABROAD.

9. ROSA ALSO CALLED ON ISA DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERGOLD AND DISCUSSED PROSPECT FOR PORTUGAL'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES. HE SAID PORTUGAL IS ONLY TECHNICALLY EUROPEAN AND WOULD LOOK FOR FRIENDS IN THE THIRD WORLD,PARTICULARLY AFRICA AND BRAZIL. ROSA ADDED THAT PORTUGAL DID NOT WANT TO BE IN EITHER MAJOR POWER BLOC. BERGOLD ASKED WHAT THAT IMPLIED FOR NATO. ROSA SAID AFM WAS PLEDGED TO RETAIN

PORTUGUESE TREATY OBLIGATIONS FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD. HOWEVER, HE SPECULATED THAT AN ELECTED PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1975) MIGHT WELL TAKE PORTUGAL OUT OF THE ALLIANCE AND, IF THE GOVERNMENT MADE THAT DECISION, HE THOUGHT THE AFM WOULD NOT OBJECT.

10. COMMENT: BIO INFO AVAILABLE TO DEPARTMENT BEFORE ROSA ARRIVED GAVE US IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS MODERATE AND THAT HE HAD PLAYED KEY ROLE IN AVERTING PROBLEMS BETWEEN AFM AND RFE BY NEGOTIATING 6 MONTH EXTENSION OF RFE AGREEMENT.
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11. SOME OF HIS STATEMENTS DURING VISIT, HOWEVER, SUGGEST HIM TO BE MORE A DEDICATED BUT MISGUIDED IDEALIST, TRYING TO OVERCOME AN EARLIER REPUTATION AS A MODERATE BY TRYING TO KEEP PACE WITH SOME OF THE MORE RADICAL MEMBERS OF AFM. IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT PORTUGUESE EMBASSY OFFICERS, WHO ARE RUNNING SCARED IN ANTICIPATION OF THE PURGING OF THEIR FOREIGN SERVICE, ARE FALLING ALL OVER ROSA WHOM THEY THINK IS GIVING THEM THE ONCE OVER IN ADDITION TO HIS OTHER ACTIVITIES IN U.S. END OF COMMENT. KISSINGER

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